# THE WICKEDNESS and PUNISHMENT OF REBELLION,

# A SERMON

Preach'd the 26. July S. V. 1685.

(Being the Day of Thanksgiveing appointed by his Majestie for the DEFEAT of the REBELS) before the Right Worshipfull the FELLOWSHIP OF MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND resideing at DORDRECHT.

By AUG. FREZER, M. A.
of St. Edmunds Hall in Oxford, Preacher to the said Societie.

2 King. 9: 31. *Had Zimri Peace?*
Rom. 13:2. *They that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

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To the Honourable

# BEVIL SKELTON Eſquire,

*Envoy Extraordinary from the moſt Mighty and Victorious* PRINCE JAMES II. *King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. to the* STATES GENERAL *of the United Provinces.*

HONOURABLE SIR,

TO *ſtill the rageing of the ſea, and the madneſs of the People*, is obſerv'd by the Royal Prophet to be the Work of God, and the Effect of an Almighty Power; which never appear'd more viſibly than in favour of his Majeſtie for theſe ſeveral years paſt. Firſt by a miraculous revolution of Affaires to make way for his Acceſſion to the Crown, ſome time before the death of the late King of bleſſed memory: then by his peaceable and quiet entrance upon his Government: and laſtly by the ſudden diſſipation of the late Rebellion contrary to all humane Appearance and Expectation.

Never was any people, ſince the time of Pontius Pilate, arrived to that height of unaccountable Madneſs againſt a Prince who had often ventur'd his life for their defence and preſervation, and had ne-

ver given them any provocation, that like the Jewes againſt our Saviour, nothing would ſerve their turnes but *Crucifie him, Crucifie him: and when they were asked why, what evill hath he don? They cryed out the more, Let him be Crucified.*

A Bill is drawn up, paſſes the Houſe of Commons, and all ſorts of endeavours us'd to extort the Royal aſſent & to get it paſſed into a Law, for the Excluſion of the right Heir, for caſting him out of his Inheritance, and for putting him to death too as a Traitour and Common Enemie if he offer'd to return from his Banishment, and did not patiently ſubmit to the Iniquity of their ſentence.

And this Fit of Madneſs after id had bin a little quieted by a Diſſolution and Change of air, is reviv'd again by the VOX POPULI or a Cry of importunate and unmannerly Petitioners from almoſt all parts of the Nation for another Excludeing Houſe of Commons, which is ſucceeded by another, who are *Reſolved* not to be ſatiſfied with the moſt Gracious Offers that were ever made by any Prince to any People, but only at the expence of the *Juſtice*, *Honour* and *Conſcience* of their Soveraigne; till they had renderd themſelves uſeleſs and dangerous; and the Leading Men among them againſt the Duke of York are found guilty by a Cloud of Witneſſes and their own Confeſſion of

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a Conſpiracy againſt the King, whereof part are brought to condign Punishment, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by flight from the hands of Juſtice: that it was now high time for the Government to conſider of ſome more effectual Remedy than had formerly bin us'd to cure the People of their Frenzie, and to keep them, whether they will or no, from undoing themſelves, in makeing choice of ſuch Patriots, as under the pretence of ſecureing their Religion and Propertie by excludeing the Duke of York from his Right of ſucceſſion, would have infaillibly deſtroyed both. In order whereunto an enquiry is made whether ſuch Corporations as had shewed themſelves moſt factious and disaffected to the Government, had not abuſed the Royal Bounty, by which they held their Charters, & are found to have incurr'd a forfieture, & ſo partly by due Courſe of Law, & partlie by voluntarie reſignations ſuch Elections are regulated, and care taken, that only perſons of known Loyaltie, & well affected to the Government both in Church and State as by Law eſtabliſhed should be capable to ſerve in Parliament. In the mean time the Fever begins to abate, and the People to recover their right ſenſes again. The Duke is ſent for Scotland, and by the way ſuffers Shipwrack, and by a wonderfull

Providence eſcapes; and now inſtead of *Crucifie him, Away with him*, there is nothing but Hoſannas, & joyfull Acclamations from all Parts and Quarters of the Kingdom for his happy Eſcape and Deliverance; together with Proteſtations, & offers of Lives & Fortunes to live and die in defence of the King and his Lawfull Succeſſours.

Thus did God by a ſeries of Miracles both preſerve our preſent Soveraign, & prepare his way to the Throne, by turning the hearts & ſtilling the madneſſe of the people, that there was not a ſword drawn, nor the leaſt Oppoſition made to hinder, or ſo much as queſtion his Rightfull Succeſſion to the Government upon the Deceaſe of his dear & moſt entirely beloved Brother. Which whoever duly conſiders, will be forced to confeſſe, *that it was the hand of the Lord only that could bring ſuch mighty things to paſſe. That the ſtone which the Builders refuſed ſhould become the headſtone in the Corner! this was certainly the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes.*

The late Rebellion may be ſaid to be ſome remainder or dregs of the former fit of Madneſſe, which (by the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſties Armes) is ſo totally extinguiſhd, that ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to continue his happy Raign over us, we have no reaſon to fear any diſturbance for the future. For which

which unſpeakable mercy every true English man that loves his King, or has any kindneſſe for his native Country ought to have kept a day of ſolemne Thanksgiveing, if there had bin none appointed by Authority: which has bin the Occaſion of preaching the following Sermon; and which I have made publick for the ſake of ſuch of my Countrymen in theſe Provinces eſpecially as lie under the Imputation and guilt of aſſiſting the late Rebels, and of contributeing to the carrying on of ſo impious and diabolical a deſigne: Of whom I do not altogether deſpair but that by their own and other mens Misfortunes they may be perſwaded at length to ſee and to acknowledg their Errour, and not any longer ſuffer themſelves to be deceived to their eternal as well as temporal Ruine and Deſtruction.

Haveing reſolv'd to appear a ſecond time in defence of the Royal Cauſe, I have preſumed, Honourable Sir, to put my ſelf under your Honours Patronage and Protection, and ſo guarded I shall not be afraid to bid defiance to all Traitours and Parricides whatſoever, who are confounded with terrour, when they hear your very name; nor shall I need to value any mans Cenſure, which I never thought ſo conſiderable as to come in competition with the ſervice of my King or the intereſt of my Country: which

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(next to the Glory of God) being the ſole ends both of preaching and publiſhing this diſcourſe, I hope may make ſome Compenſation for the defects that may be in it, and in ſome meaſure excuſe this Addreſſe to a Perſon, whoſe ſtudie as well as Character is to encourage any thing of Loyalty, and of whoſe indefatigable paines and diligence in endevouring by the moſt prudent and effectual means to ſtifle the late Rebellion in its birth, and to hinder it from ever breaking forth, there are ſufficient Witneſſes; whoſe eminent ſervices upon this, as upon many other Occaſions, and rare Accomplishments both natural and acquired, have juſtly raiſd you to that place you enjoy in the Eſteem and Favour of the moſt admired and accomplished Prince in the World. Which that you may continually more improve, and find the Effects of it in your Encreaſe of Honour, and of all manner of Felicity, there is no man deſires or wishes more than.

*Honourable SIR,*

Your Honours moſt Humble and
moſt Obedient Servant,

A. FREZER.

*Pr.* 24. 21. 22. *My ſon, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change. For their Calamitie ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruine of them both?*

PUblick mercies and Deliverances call for publick Acknowledgments, and Thanksgiveings; and the mercies are ſo much the greater in proportion to the miſeries and calamities from which we are delivered; which, if God had ſuffer'd the late Rebellion to ſucceed, you of this place who now hear me muſt have expected to have felt as much and perhaps as ſoon too as any others, by how much your loyalty and adherence to your lawful ſoveraign has bin the more renown'd and *ſpoaken of*. And therefore you have all the reaſon in the world to comply with the commands of your Prince in bearing a part with the reſt of his Majeſtie's Loyal ſubjects in the devotions of this day, who equally share with them in the joys and bleſſings for which it is appointed. And next to the juſt tribute of praiſe and thanks giving which is to be offerd up to almighty God for ſo ſingular a mercie, I preſume it is intended by authority, you should be put in mind of that duty the neglect of which has been the unhappy occaſion of involving ſo many of our fellow ſubjects in guilt, and miſerie. In order whereunto I have made choice, of the words that have bin read to you, *My ſon fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, &c.*

The Argument of this book of proverbs is wisdom, or the design of it (as it is proposed in the begining) is *to know Wisdom and Instruction, to perceave the words of understanding*, i. e. to teach men their duty in all capacities wherein they stand related to one another, or in any condition wherein their present or future happinesse may be any way concern'd, whether as private persons or publick. And the foundation of this wisdom or knowledg, and of all the blessed effects of it, which are security from evill, and the acquisition of every thing that is good for us, we are told by the wise man is the fear of God, without which we are fools, and miserable. * *The fear of the Lord is the begining of wisdom, but fools despise wisdom and Instruction.* And because the peace of the world, and the welfare of the Publick (upon which depends the happinesse of particular persons) are so greatly concernd in the duty which subjects ow their Rulers, therefore what our divine Authour supposes in giueing Rules for our practice in other cases where the duty is of lesse consideration, here he expressly sets down: and that the duty which he would especially recommend to us might be taken the more notice of, and make the deeper impression upon us (which is the duty of subjects to Kings) he joynes it with the fear of God, and seemes to lay the same stresse upon it, by making use of the same word to expresse it, as is commonly made use of, to expresse our duty to God, and threatning the same Calamity & Ruine to those who neglect the one as well as the other. *My son fear thou the Lord, and the King and meddle not with them that are given to change; for their Calamity*

* Pr. 1.7.

*lamity shall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them both?*

The words conſiſt of 2 general parts, 1. Here is a command or a duty enjoynd. 2. Here is the reaſon of the command or a punishment annext to the breach or neglect of it. The command or the duty enjoyn'd is the duty of ſubjects to their rulers, *which is expreſſed* 2 manner of wayes. 1 Poſitively. *Fear God and the King*, and then negatively, *meddle not with them that are given to change.* The former or poſitive part of the duty ſeemes to relate to God as well as to the King: but tho God be the object of our fear, and the whole duty we ow him be comprehended in that word, yet I have already showed you, and the following words make it plain, that the duty which ſubbjects ow their King is principally intended by it, when we are commanded not to meddle with them that are given to change, which are to be underſtood in a civil or political ſenſe, with relation to thoſe who out of a love of change or novelty, or to gratifie their ambition, Revenge, covetousneſſe, or any other paſſion, riſe up againſt, or refuſe to obey, or to be ſubject to their lawfull ſoveraign, which is inconſiſtent with the fear and duty which they ow him. And the reaſon (beſides that which has been al ready mentioned) why we are commanded to fear God, at the ſame time we are bid to fear, honour and obey the King, and when this latter is the thing chiefly deſign'd, is to put us in mind of the inſeperable connexion that there is between theſe 2 dutyes, the fear of God, and the fear or obedience we ow the King: and of the ground or

and quality of our obedience to the latter: and therefore the doctrine or obſervation from the plaine ſenſe of the words may be this.

That there can be no true fear of God, where there is not a juſt reverence, and obedience paid to the King. This is a doctrine ſo plain, and ſo clearly ſet down in ſcripture, that it might ſeem needleſſe to inſiſt upon the proof of it, if the ſecret plots, and conſpiracies which are dayly formed, and the open Rebellions which we ſee raiſd and carried on againſt the lives of Princes, and their Government, and all this under the pretence of Religion, did not make it neceſſary at ſome times, and upon ſome occaſions (ſuch as this is) to put men in mind of ſo important a truth.

The fear of God then you muſt know conſiſts in a ſincere, and univerſal obedience to al his comands: ſo
† Ja. 2. 10. that he who wilfully † *offends in one point* is by interpretation *guilty of all*; and cannot properly be ſaid to fear God at all, becauſe the fear of God does equally oblige to the obſervation of one command as well as of another, and the ſame penalty is annext to one as to another; and therefore he who does not fear to offend God in breaking any one of his comandments, (tho he keeps all the reſt,) cannot be ſuppoſed to keep the reſt out of any principle of conſcience or the fear of God, but for ſome other conſideration, and will make no conſcience to break all the reſt, whenever he ſhall have the ſame occaſion or temptation to break them, that he has for the breaking of any one.

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Now it is notoriouſly known to any one that has read the ſcripture, that nothing is or can be more expreſly commanded by God, than the Honour, obedience, and ſubjection which is due to Kings. And all this is not only comprehended in the fifth commandment by the honour due to parents, but there are ſeveral other more particular commands about it, to teach us how we are to regulate our very thoughts, our words, our actions, and our whole deportment towards them. We muſt not entertain a diſhonourable thought of our Prince, implyed in the prohibition, (a) *not to curſe the King in our thought.* (b) We muſt not *revile him or ſpeak evill of him.* (c) We muſt not lift up a hand againſt him or reſiſt him, (d) We muſt behave our ſelves reverently in his preſence. We muſt obey his commands, and give him that † tribute, or cuſtome which belongs to him, which is neceſſary for the ſupport of his rule and dignity, and which is but a ſmall recompence for the benefits, we receive by his Government. And all this is no more than what is particularly commanded by God in the old Teſtament, and by our ſaviour and his Apoſtles in the new, and has bin taught and practiced by holy men, and by the church of God in all ages: which is all comprehended under the word *fear* or *honour* which is ſo often mention'd and commanded with relation to Kings as their Right and Due, and which cannot be denyed them without ſacriledge, & diſobedience to God himſelf? **Render therefore to all their Due, Tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtome to whom cuſtome, fear to whom fear, and honour to whom honour.*

(a) *Eccl.* 10. 20.
(b) *Exo.* 22. 28.
(c) *1 Sam.* 26. 9.
(d) *1. K.* 1. 23.
† *Ro.* 13. 6.
* *Ro.* 13. 7.

But not to insist at present any further upon other particulars of the duty which subjects ow their King. I shall only speak a few words concerning resistance, and the nature or quality of our obedience, the wilfull misunderstanding whereof is the cause of all our troubles and of all our divisions.

1. Concerning the lawfullnesse of resistance, (which some of our late Rebels have been so far deserted by God as to assert, not only in words, and with their pens, but with their blood, and their last breath) there need no other arguments be used to confute it, and for ever to stop the mouths of all rebellious gainsayers, (if any thing could convince th. m.) than the Testimonies of David and St. Paul, whose authority I am sure is indisputable, and not to be question'd by any that own the scriptures to be the word of God. † *Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords anointed and be guiltlesse?* was the Amulet or charm (if I may so call it) which the man after God's own heart, had bin taught by the spirit of God, to make use of upon any occasion or temptation that he had to revenge himself of his greatest enemie, to curb his own passion, and to restrain others from offering the least violence to their lawfull soveraigne. The other Testimonie is of St. Paul. Ro. 13.5. *Wherefore you must needs be subject not only for wrath but conscience sake.* In the former passage David laies it down as a principle of the law of nature acknowledged by all the world, that it is impossible for any man that is a subject to resist his prince, and be Innocent: *Who can stretch forth his haud against the Lords Annointed and be guiltlesse?* In the

† 1 *Sa.* 26. 9.

the latter, the Apoſtle aſſerts the neceſſity of ſubjection (in oppoſition to reſiſtance, which is forbidden condemn'd & threatned with damnation Rom. 13. 1. 2.) upon the ſcore of *conſcience*, that if there were no other reaſons to oblige men to be ſubject drawn from hope of reward or fear of punishment, yet they were bound to be ſo out of *conſcience*, and they might with as ſafe a conſcience break any of the Comands of God as reſiſt. Which two teſtimonies againſt the lawfulneſſe of reſiſtance will never be anſwerd, or evaded by thoſe who are ſo audacious and impious as to ſpeak or write in favour of ſuch as take up armes againſt their lawfull Prince upon the account of conſcience, and Religion (as is pretended;) who may as well hope to reconcile light and darkneſſe; or God and Belial, as the principles and practices of ſuch Perſons with the ſcriptures, and the fear of God.

2. Concerning the nature or quality of that obedience which is due to Kings. We muſt obey them in all things, except where a ſuperiour command has already engaged our obedience, to the contrary. The commands of a ſuperiour are ſtill to be obeyd before the commands of an Inferiour; and therefore if the King, who is only God's Vicegerent or deputy shall command any thing that is contrary to what God has commanded us before: in all ſuch caſes the Rule of the Apoſtles is to take place, *that it is better to obey God than man.* Acts. 4. 19.

In all other things which are left undetermind by God, and are not contrary to his will, when they ar commanded by thoſe who are ſet in authority over

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us, our obedience is neceſſary and indiſpenſable. And therefore to ſecure us from transgreſſing our duty to God and our ſuperiours, we muſt endeavour to acquaint our ſelves with the whole will of God reveald to us in ſcripture, that ſo we may know wherein it is lawfull for us to obey our ſuperiours, and wherein we may lawfully refuſe to comply with them. Where our obedience is lawfull, it is alwaies neceſſary, and it is alwaies lawfull where the thing commanded us is not forbidden by God, tho it may happen to be contrary to our intereſts or Inclinations. We muſt be ſubject and obedient as well to froward and ſevere Maſters, as to the good and gentle, * *for this is thanks worthy if a man for conſcience towards God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully.* And from hence I shall take the liberty to inferre, that where the matter of the Command is of a doubtfull nature, or when we doubt of the lawfulneſs of it, our obedience is ſtil neceſſary, becauſe the thing commanded is not forbidden by God, at leaſt not directly or expreſsly forbidden, for if it were there could be no doubt of the unlawfulneſſe of it; and if it be doubtfull we have as much reaſon to think it may be lawfull as unlawfull, and the preſumption of its lawfullneſſe ought to be for the Magiſtrate, who is ſuppos'd to be better able (as haveing greater helps) to judge of what is agreable to the will of God: and then beſides all this we have the Commands of our ſuperiours, and the neceſſity of our obedience, if the thing we are commanded be not apparently ſinfull to juſtifie or at leaſt to excuſe our compliance. As for that objection which I foreſee

* 1 Pet. 2. 18.

ſee may be brought againſt what hath bin ſaid from *Ro.* 14. 23. where the Apoſtle ſpeaking of eating ſome ſorts of meats with a doubting conſcience, when the perſons who did eat of ſuch meats as had bin for bidden by God doubted whether they were not ſtill forbidden, and yet would venture to eat of them. *He that thus doubteth (ſaies the Apoſtle) is damn'd if he eat becauſe he eateth not of faith, for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* But this objection does not reach the caſe we are ſpeaking of, becauſe the Apoſtles doubting perſon was at liberty not to eat of the things whereof he doubted, and in all caſes of the like nature where men are at liberty, it is ſafeſt to forbear a doubtfull action, as for example it is doubtfull whether it be lawfull to practice uſury, and every man is at liberty whether he will practice it or no, and therefore it is ſafeſt not to practice it: but obedience to Magiſtrates is no ſuch arbitrary matter, but is a duty laid upon the conſcience, and if we are not well aſſured that the thing commanded is ſinfull, it is certaine we ſin, if we refuſe to yield obedience to it; which I conceive to be the caſe of thoſe who refuſe to conform to the publick worship and ſervice of God, as it is enjoyn'd by Authority and eſtabliſh'd in the Church of England.

For the further confirmation of what hath bin ſaid I ſhall ad one Argument more drawn from the nature and well beeing of all Government, that if a ſcruple concerning the lawfulneſs of a command from our ſuperiours be allowed to be of equall weight with the duty of obedience, then the obedience of ſubjects

will be arbitary, becauſe it is impoſſible to ſee into mens hearts, and when they have no mind to obey, it is but pretending a ſcruple of conſcience for their diſobedience: for if they may lawfully ſcruple, ſo as to be excus'd from their obedience, then it is unlawfull for the Magiſtrate to punish them for not obeying; and it will be all one as to the exerciſe of the Magiſtrates power whether the ſcruple be real or pretended: and how can any government ſubſiſt which is thus precarious and made to depend upon the pleaſure or humour of the people? And therefore the Principles which draw ſuch conſequences after them cannot be true or agreable to the will of God; and by conſequence the contrary which I have aſſerted and explaind to you muſt be true, becauſe according to the command of our ſaviour *it renders unto God, the things that are Gods, and unto Ceſar the things that are Ceſars*: It gives God all that honour and obedience which himſelf requires of us, and it tends moſt to promote and preſerve that Order and Peace, which God has inſtituted and eſtablished in the world.

To conclude this particular, they who ſcruple to comply with the commands of their Prince, or the lawes of the Government where they live, without being convinced by clear and ſufficient reaſons of their unlawfulneſſe, do plainly ſhow, that they are weary, and diſſatisfied both with their Prince and with their Government: and when people come once to be weary of a thing, they begin to wish they were rid of it, and would be willing to exchange it for ſomething which they fancy to be better; and from wiſhes they

they proceed to words, and muſt be laying open the faults they diſcover either in the Government it ſelf or in the Governours, which they would have redreſſed; and the next ſtep is to action, to take the Government into their own hands, and to reform it as they think fit themſelves; and this cannot be accomplished without a Rebellion, which the Authours and Contrivers endevour to palliate with the mask of *Religion*, or of a *Godly, thorow Reformation.* And by theſe footſteps you may be able to trace all the Rebellions that have bin fomented and carried on among our ſelves more then among any other people in the world, from their Infancy and Original to their full Growth; and who have bin the men in all of them, that have moſt contributed towards them, and have bin moſt active in them; and to whom the Character which is given by the wiſe man to ſome perſons in the Text does moſt fitly agree, of *ſuch as are given to change*, which brings me to the negative part of the Duty enjoyn'd in the words. *And meddle not with them that are given to change.*

2. To fear God then, and to be given to change, it ſeemes in the Judgment of Solomon (whatever the Doctrine of our modern caſuiſts may be) are things of a quite different, and inconſiſtent nature. He that fears God is not given to change, and he that is given to change does not fear God; which is a farther confirmation of the Doctrine or obſervation from the former part of the words, where God and the King are joyn'd together as partners of the ſame duty, of the ſame Fear and Reverence which is due to both.

We muſt fear God, and we muſt fear the King; we muſt honour God and we muſt honour the King; and we muſt obey God, and we muſt obey the King; where this fear, honour, and obedience, which we are commanded to give to the King, does not interfere with that fear, honour and obedience which belongs to God: but to be given to change is inconſiſtent with both, nor does he either fear God or the King, who lies under that Charge or Imputation.

If we would therefore fear God and the King as we ought and as we are comanded to do. We muſt neither be given to change our ſelves, nor have any thing to do with thoſe that are.

1. If we would fear God and the King, as it is our duty to do, We our ſelves muſt not be given to change. To be given to change is to endevour the Alteration or Reformation of the Government under which we live, without the leave, and againſt the will of thoſe that are in Authority, which is a reſiſting the higher powers, which I have irrefragablie proved to you, it is not lawfull for ſubjects to do, upon any pretence or provocation whatſoever, which may encline or diſpoſe us to endevour or to attempt a change.

Now the uſual Pretences or Provocations which hurry men into Rebellion againſt their Prince, and to endevour the change and the ſubverſion of the Government under which they live may be reckon'd theſe four eſpecially. Ambition, covetousneſſe, Revenge, and Religion or Reformation; Againſt all which, and whatever other paſſion or pretence may excite

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or provoake us to caſt off the fear and reverence, which we ow our Prince, the wiſe man gives us his advice. *Eccl.* 8. *z.* 3. 4. *I counſell thee to keep the Kings commandment and that in regard of the Oath of God. Be not haſty to go out of his ſight; ſtand not in any evil thing, for he doth whatſoever pleaſeth him.* Theſe words, *be not haſty to go out of his ſight*, are generally interpreted to ſignifie, that we ſhould not ſuffer our paſſion ſo far to prevail over our reaſon, as to withdraw our ſelves from the ſervice and obedience of our Prince, as diſcontented perſons uſe to do, which will both provoak him againſt us, and lead us by degrees into ſedition and Rebellion: ſo that there was never any man who has thrown off his Allegiance, but it was by giveing way to ſome one or other of the foremention'd Provocations.

1. Ambition and a deſire of Rule is ſome time that Paſſion, which ſtirres up men to throw off the bonds of duty and allegiance to their lawfull ſoveraigne, that ſo they may get into the Throne themſelves, which paſſion is obſerv'd by Cicero to raign moſt in Perſons of a great ſoul (the Effect for the moſt part of a noble Extract,) who are commonly the Heads, and Ringleaders of a Rebellion. *Vt quisque animi magnitudinè excellit, ita maximè vult Princeps omnium eſſe &c. by how much any man excells others in greatneſs of mind, ſo much the more he deſires to be above all*; and then he further obſerves, that his Ambition quickly degerates into Tyranny, difficile autem eſt ne cum præſtare omnibus concupiveris, ſervare æquitatem quæ eſt Juſtitiæ maximè propria. But it is a very dif-

difficult matter for any man who desires to be above others, to observe the Rules of Equity and Moderation, which is the Essential Property of Justice. The former part of the Observation is plain from the Examples of Absolon, Adonijah and the unfortunate Authour of the late Rebellion in our own Nation, who were as Great and as Happy as a Generous and Indulgent Prince, such a Prince as David was, or as Charles the second could make them, and might have lived more Happy than either, if they had bin but as sensible of the Weight and Cares of a Crown, as they were dazled with the splendour of it. Nor is the latter part of the observation lesse true concerning the degeneracy of Ambition into Tyranny and all manner of Injustice, as might be made appear from innumerable Examples both in our own and other Nations, when ever God has sufferd a Rebellion to succeed for the sins of a People, Tyranny, Cruelty and Oppression have bin the unavoidable effects and consequences of it.

2. Another Passion which may excite men to desire and to attempt a Change of the Government where they live is Covetousnesse, or the hopes of bettering their condition under a new Master. With this Saul upbraids his servants, when he suspected they had a greater kindnesse for David than for himself. 1 *Sa.* 22. 7. Then Saul said unto his servants that stood about him. *Hear now ye Benjamites. VVill the son of Iesse give every one of you fields and Vineyards, and make you all Captaines of Thousands, and Captaines of Hundreds, that all of you have conspired against me?* And who were the

the People that followed David, who for ought they knew had justly fallen under his Princes displesure, and did intend to make himself King? † *They were such as were in distresse, and in debt, and every* one that was *discontented.* * They who have profusely spent their Estates, and are so much in debt, that they see no way or possibility ever to get out of it, or who never had any thing to lose, are the only persons that are most likely to get by a Rebellion, and therefore most apt to desire one and to be engaged in it. They care not what becomes either of their King or Country, or who gets into the Throne, so they may but raise their Fortunes, or better their present circumstances by the Ruine and Destruction of both. This we find to have bin the Case of Catiline that famous or rather infamous Conspiratour and Rebel, and of his complices ‡ as the Historian observes of him and them, that they had consumed their Estates by their Luxurie and Extravagancie, and could think of no other way to retrieve them but by a Rebellion. Which has bin the case no doubt of most of our late Rebels, who had all bin promis'd, or at least had promisd themselves, besides all the profitable and honourable Employments in the Kingdome an equall share in all the Crown and Church Lands, and in the Estates of those they called Papists (as heretofore Malignants) for no other reason but only for adhereing to their lawfull King if this Rebellion had succeeded; as had bin practiced in a former. Not a Plowman but must have bin at least a Justice of Peace who thought with themselves, like those other Rebellious Husbandmen

† 1 *Sam.* 22. 2.

* Semper in civitate quibus opes nullæ sunt bonis invident malos extollunt; vetera odere; nova ex optant; dio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba. atque seditionibus sine curâ aluntur, quoniam Egestas facile habetur sine damno. Salust. Bellum Catil.

‡ Catilinam luxuria primum, tum hinc conflata egestas rei familiaris in nefaria consilia oprimendæ patriæ suæ compulêre. Salust.

in

* *Mar.* 12. 7. in the Goſpel. * *This is the Heir, come let us kill him*; and not only his Inheritance, but the Inheritance of all that depend on him or that ſide with him shal be ours.

3. A third exciteing cauſe of Rebellion, and which is apt to put men upon deſireing, and attempting a Change is Revenge. When men think they have not bin ſufficiently rewarded for their ſervices; or when they ſee others leſſe deſerving preferr'd before them, or when they have receiv'd any particular injurie either in their own Perſons or in their Relations, they begin to be uneaſie and diſcontented, and ſtudie all the wayes imaginable how to be reveng'd, and to do themſelves Juſtice, and are glad of any Opportunity, either to be the Heads, or at leaſt the Partners in a Rebellion. When Joab ſaw he was like to be ſupplanted by Abner and Amaſa, to whom David had deſigned to give the Command of his Army, and whom therefore Joab thought it convenient to diſpatch out of the way: and when he underſtood that David upon his death bed, had given Solomon a charge concerning † him *not to ſuffer his hoar head to go down to the grave in peace*; upon the death of David he refuſes to own Solomon for King, but goes over to Adonijah who pretended a right to the Crown, and joynes with a Uſurper againſt his lawfull ſoveraigne. The Conqueſt of Spain by the Moores owes it ſelf merely to a Tranſport of this Paſſion; Count Julian General of the Spanish Forces under Rodericus King of Spain, being ſent with the Army under his Command to fight againſt the Moors, and haveing

† 1 *K.* 2. 6.

haveing heard that the Chaſtity of his wife had bin violated in his Abſence, he was ſo incenſ'd at it, that he preſently goes over to the Enemie, brings them to invade his own Country, who make an abſolute Conqueſt, after the ſlaughter of many thou'ands on both ſides together with the King and all the nobility, and they keep it for above 700 years in their poſſeſſion. Such an influence has Revenge when it is let looſe over mens minds, that they reſolve to leave nothing unattempted, tho it coſt the utter ruine and deſtruction of their country to accomplish it.

4. Another exciteing cauſe which is apt to ſtirre men up to reſiſt and to take up armes againſt their lawfull ſoveraigne, is * Religion and Reformation. What ever the ſecret and Impulſive cauſes of all civil Commotions have bin, Whether Ambition, Covetousneſſe or Revenge, the open and the moſt plauſible pretenſe, which the Authours and Abetters of ſuch Commotions have ever had the confidence publickly to own (except when they have pretended a Title to the Crown) has ſtill bin Religion and Reformation: There being no other way to engage ſuch as are ſimple and well meaning people to be of their party; while they are ſecure of others who have no ſenſe of Conſcience or Religion, that they will come in faſt enough, and joyn with them for their own private ends and intereſt. And this ſtratagem has bin ſo univerſally practiced, and found to be ſo uſefull and neceſſary for the carrying on of a Rebellion, that I believe there are not many examples to be met with in the Hiſtories of all times and places from the begining

* Per illa tempora quicunque Remp agita vêre honeſtis nominibus alii ſicuti jura Populi defenderent, pars, quo ſenatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes &c Saluſt. Bellum Catil.

of the world, that have bin begun without it. If we look back as far as the times of Moſes, we find Corah, Dathan and Abiram with their Confederates, murmuring againſt Moſes and Aaron, and endevouring to make a Rebellion, upon a pretenſe of greater holyneſſe. So like wiſe ‡ the want or the Corruption of Juſtice, and the neceſſity of a Reformation is pretended by Abſolom, and this gets him the hearts of the people, and two hundred of them follow him, preſently in *their ſimplicity*. The very ſame Pretenſions have bin made uſe of in all the Rebellions that have happen'd in our own Nation, (at leaſt ſince the Reformation,) which will furnish us with matter enough, without being obliged to our Neighbours or to more remote countries for Examples. The frequent Conſpiracies laid againſt the life of that Incomparable Princeſſe of glorious memory Queen Elizabeth were all contrived upon the ſcore of Religion. The Deſigne of blowing up the King and Parliament upon a fifth of November was a Deſigne of Religion. It was Religion and the Extirpation of Popery, and the Reformation of the Church according to the Examples of the beſt Reformed Churches, that inſpired the Pen men of the ſolemne League and Covenant that ſet the three Kingdomes in a flame, and deſtroyed the beſt Prince that ever wore a Crown, and the beſt eſtabliſh'd Government in the world. The Aſſociation a few years ago was contrived and entred into for the ſake of Religion: and it was the ſame ſpirit of Religion that actuated the Authours of the late Traiterous Declarations, which were publiſh'd to juſtifie the

*Nu.* 16. 3.

‡ 2 *Sam.* 15. 11.

† Cum alii aliter ſentirent, dicerentque conſultius ſibi videri ut non Catholica fides, verum alia quæpiam belli cauſa obtenderetur, tunc Northumbriæ Gomes, at Ego (inquit) aliam nullam aut ſcio aut agnoſco, neque hominum (opinor ſed Dei Gloriam quærimus. Concertatio Eccleſ. Cathol. in Angl. p. 46.

the two Rebellions, which are ſo very lately extinguiſhd, and for which we are now met to bleſſe God, in putting a ſtop to the miſeries that do accompany an inteſtine and unnatural war in our own Bowells. *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.* Nothing but Religion (as the Poet well obſerves) could be the cauſe of ſo much evill.

Now the advice of the wiſe man in relation to all theſe cauſes or Impulſives to Rebellion, whether ſecret or avowed, whether real or pretended, is *that we ſhould not be haſty to go out of the Kings ſight.* i. e. We muſt not give way to any of our Paſſions: we muſt not ſuffer our ſelves to be overcome or tranſported with any the greateſt Provocation or Temptation to withdraw our ſelves from the ſervice of our Prince, to deny him our obedience, to throw off our allegiance to him, or to riſe in Rebellion againſt him. Let not the Glories of a Crown, nor the hopes of makeing thy Fortune, nor the greateſt Injuries and deſire of Revenge, nor the pretenſe of Religion ever tempt or provoak thee to be a Rebel. Ambition, Covetousneſs and Revenge are ſins in their own Nature, and become more exceeding ſinfull, when they are varnishd over with the ſpecious shew of Religion, and made the Inſtruments of ſtirring up of a Rebellion becauſe *ſimulata ſanctitas eſt duplex Iniquitas,* Counterfiet Religion' or Holyneſſe is complicated iniquity, and ‡ *Rebellion is as the ſin of Witchcraft*: and if it be not the ſin againſt the holy ghoſt, it is very near a kin to that ſin which in all probability comes neareſt it, which is the ſin of witchcraft, which is a Renunciation of ‡ 1 *Sam.* 15. 23.

God, and a liſting our ſelves in the ſervice of the Devil: and therefore Rebellion is fitly compared to Witchcraft becauſe as Witchcraft is a renunciation of that duty and ſervice we ow to God, ſo Rebellion is the ſame in relation to his Vicegerent. They are both ſins of the firſt magnitude, and very rarely admit of or leave a place for Repentance: which is all that is affirm'd of the ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, when it is ſaid, that *it ſhall never be forgiven neither in this life, nor in that which is to come.*

2. As our firſt and chiefeſt care ſhould be not to give way to any of thoſe paſſions which may be apt to ſtirre us up to rebell, or to deſire and attempt a change, ſo that we may preſerve our Loyalty and our Innocence untainted and free from ſuſpition as well as guilt: we are adviſd or comanded in the next place, not to meddle with them that are given to change. We muſt have nothing to do with thoſe we know to be of factious and rebellious Principles. And the reaſons which may be given for this are not of the leaſt importance, which are theſe two.

1. Becauſe the very Converſation of ſome perſons breaths infection, and by keeping them Company, we ſhall come at length to have a better opinion of their Principles, and a worſe opinion of our Governours than either of them deſerve. The poyſon of their diſcourſe will inſenſibly inſinuate it ſelf into our ſouls, and we ſhall be corrupted, we ſhall be undon before we are aware. And therefore the reaſon which the Wiſe man gives why we ſhould not keep Company with angry men, is no leſſe true of ſeditious

ous persons, and of all other sinners whatsoever. † *Make no friendship with an angry man, and with a furious man thou shalt not go, lest thou learn his wayes, and get a snare to thy soul.* † Pr. 22. 24.

2. The other reason against keeping company or having any thing to do with persons of disloyal principles, may be taken from the suspition and disreputation that is contracted by it. A man is said to be known by the Company he keeps, and such as his Company is known to be, such he is supposed to be himself: and when he is once suspected to be disaffected, to the Government, it will be no easie matter for him ever after, to wipe off the suspition. And from hence some men merely by being reputed to be disaffected have come to be really so; supposeing it one and the same thing to be an ill man as to be thought one. Indeed a good man who is conscious of his own Innocence ought to be satisfied from himself, and with the Testimony of his own Conscience and not to value the Opinion of the World, if he have given no just cause for its ill Opinion. But there are few men in love with Vertue for its own sake, or would be vertuous if they thought they should not be taken notice of: and therefore when once they come to be suspected, and find how hard, if not impossible it is to regain their former reputation, they resolve never to attempt it, and care not if they are altogether as bad as they are supposd and represented: besides all this, the very suspition may sometimes be of as ill consequence to a man as if he was really guilty: which may suffice to let you see what great

every man has who values either his Innocence or Reputation to avoid the Company of thoſe who are known to be men of ſeditious and Rebellious Principles; if they would avoid the guilt or the Imputation of being given to change, and the ill Conſequences of it, which brings me to the,

2. General part of the words, viz the Punishment threatend to all thoſe, who are given to Change or who rebell againſt their lawfull Prince, ſet down in the latter part of the words, *for their Calamity shall riſe ſuddenly and who knoweth the Ruine of them both?*

As God is pleasd to expreſſe the Duty he requires of us himſelf, and the Duty which ſubjects ow their Kings, by one and the ſame word, to ſignifie the great Concern he has for them. and for the peace and welfare of the world, which depends upon the preſervation of their perſons, and the Obedience which is due to them from their ſubjects; ſo the better to ſecure their perſons from violence and to keep their ſubjects in their Obedience, he threatens the ſame punishment to thoſe who shall violate their Duty to the King, as to himſelf; *For their Calamity shall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?* And the reaſon is, becauſe he who is a Traitour, and a Rebel to his King is at the ſame time a Traitour and a Rebel to God. This God himſelf tells Samuel when the People refuſed any longer to be governd by him. * *They have not rejected thee (ſaies God) but they have rejected me that I should not raigne over them which is more fully expreſt by St. Paul.* Ro. 13. 1. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but*

* 1 *Sam.* 8 7.

*but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God, whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.*

The Damnation here ſpoaken of by St. Paul includes both the Calamity and Ruine that is threatend to Rebels in the text, and that more ſevere Puniſhment or Damnation which is reſerv'd for them in the other world.

1. The Temporal Puniſhment which is here threaten'd to Rebels is expreſd after ſuch a manner as to denote both the Nature, the Certainty and the Suddenneſſe of it.

The Nature of their Puniſhment is expreſſed 1. by the Calamitie or miſeries they bring upon them ſelves and then by their final Ruin and Deſtruction. The Certainty of their Puniſhment is ſignified by the reduplication of the threatning expreſd by Calamity and Ruine; and the ſuddenneſſe of it as it is expreſly ſet down, *for their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly and who knoweth the Ruine of them both?*

This, as all other temporal threatnings in ſcripture, is to be underſtood as generally and for the moſt part true.

Tho God has thteatned the wicked with Temporal as well as Eternal miſerie, yet we ſee many times, (*a*) *that the way of the Wicked proſpers, and they are happy that deal very treacherouſly.* (*b*) *They are not in trouble as other men, neither are they plagued like other men, nay they have no pangs in their death neither, but their ſtrength continues firm to the laſt.* So it may, and ſo it does ſomtimes

(*a*) *Jer.* 12. 1.

(*b*) *P.* 1. 73.

times fare with Rebels, they may for a time proſper in their Rebellion, and God may ſuffer his People for the punishment of their ſins and for their Amendment and Reformation to groan under a long and proſperous Uſurpation. But when any thing of this nature happens, it is beſide the comon method of Gods Providence, and all ſuch perſons have reaſon to expect the contrary, and if they do not meet with their Punishment in this wo ld, they may be ſure it will light ſo much the heavier upon them in the next.

(c) *Pſ.* 92.7. (c) *When all the wicked ſpring as the Graſſe and when all the Workers of Iniquity do flourish: it is that they may be deſtroyed for ever.*

But the Rule both of our Judgment and of our Practice is not to be borrowed f om Extraordinary Occurrences, but from the common and uſual proceedings of God, and the known declarations of his will in ſcripture: And according to both theſe wayes of Judging, the fate of Rebels as to this world may be concluded to be ſuch as it is repreſented to us, both as to the Nature, the Certainty, and the Suddenneſſe of their Calamity and Ruine. They are generally reduced to great want and miſery in their life time; they come to an untimely end, and their Deſtruction very often befalls them upon a ſudden, as might be eaſily made appear by innumerable Examples both in ſacred and prophane ſtory, of which I ſhall only inſtance in afew.

Corah, Dathan and Abiram (whom I have already mention'd) were the firſt Rebels that we have any account of in ſcripture; and becauſe Rebellion was till then

then a new and unheard of sin, God resolves to punish them after a new & extraordinary manner. The Earth is made to open her mouth, & (a) to swallow them up alive with all that belongd to them. The next Rebel of any note or consideration that we read of was (b) Absolom, who contrary to all the ties of Nature, Duty & Gratitude raisd a Rebellion against his father, which was quickly dissipated, & the General himself in his flight, rideing under an Oak caught up by the hair of the head, where he hung till he was struck through the heart by Joab; which put an end to that Rebellion; which is no sooner over, but (c) Sheba the son of Bichri a man of Belial, sounds a trumpet, & issues out a Declaration, saying, *we have no part in David neither have we Inheritance in the Son of Iesse, Every man to his Tents ô Israel*: and he drawes all Israël after him; but is presently pursued by Joab, & loses his head as the reward of his Treason & Rebellion. After this we read of nothing almost but Treasons & Rebellions in the Kingdom of Israël, (which was at first founded in a Rebellion) from the time of its Revolt from the house of David till it was carried away Captive; and of the slaughter and destruction of those that had a hand in them, that it was become a Proverb, *Had Zimri Peace, who slew his Master?* He conspired against Elah his Master, and slew him, and the whole time of his Raign was seven dayes in Tirzah, and when the People heard say, Zimri hath conspired and hath also slain the King, they made Omri Captain of the Host King in the Camp, and he went up and all Israël with him,

(a) *Nu.* 16

(b) 2 *Sam.* 15.

(c) 2 *Sam.* 20.

1 *K.* 16.

and they beſieged Tirzah : and it came to paſſe when Zimri ſaw that the City was taken, that he went into the Palace of the Kings houſe, and burnt the Kings houſe over him with fire, & he died. And ſome ſuch miſerable fate may be obſerved to have attended the Authours, of almoſt all the Parricides and all the Rebellions that have happend in any part of the world from that time to this. * Of thoſe that murderd Julius Cæſar not a man of them died a natural death. All of them ſtood condemn'd, ſome perishd by shipwrack, others by war, and ſome killd them ſelves with the ſame dagger they ſtabbed their Maſter. And did not the ſame Vengeance overtake the murderers of our late Bleſſed ſoveraign King Ch. the Martyr ? And what's become of the two laſt Rebellions that have bin' raiſd in theſe Nations to which we belong, and of their Leaders ? In the ſpace of leſſe than two months, we have ſeen two Rebel Armys in the field breathing out nothing but deſtruction to their natural and lawful ſoveraign, and to all that adhered to him, animated with the great numbers that at firſt came flocking into them, and with the certain hopes of ſucceſſe and Victory ; we have ſeen them I ſay contrary to their own & the Expectation of all their Friends, and Confederates both at home and abroad, totally routed by a ſmall number of the Kings Forces, a great part of them ſlain upon the place, and the reſt diſperſt, and left without all hopes or a poſſibility of makeing an eſcape : Their Generall himſelf reduced to the utmoſt Extremity and a want of all things, ſo as to be ready to perish with

* Percuſſorum autem fêre neque triennio quisquam amplius ſuper vixit, neque ſuâ morte defunctus eſt &c. Sueton. inuitâ Cæſ. ſic Capitol. de Gordiani cæde.

with hunger, and then taken alive, and brought to ſuffer death by the hands of a common Executioner. To whom and to all ſuch perfidious Traitours as they were, the Prophetical Obſervation of the Pſalmiſt may be applied, and wil be verified at one time or other Pſ. 7. 14. *Behold he travaileth with Iniquity and hath conceived miſchief, and brought forth falshood; he made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made; his miſchief ſhall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing ſhall come down upon his own pate.* For which every good man will joyn with the ſame Royal Prophet in the next verſe, and ſay, *I will praiſe the Lord according to his Righteouſneſſe, and will ſing praiſe to the name of the Lord moſt high.* All which may be ſufficient to juſtifie the Aſſertion of the wiſe man in the words, concerning the punishment of Rebels, and ſuch as are given to change as to this life; *That their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly and who knoweth the ruin of them both?*

But yet this Calamity and Ruin which is threatend to Rebels in this life is but part of their punishment: and tho one would think might be enough to terifie any man from ſuch practices, as may render him lyable to it, yet it is nothing to that other ſeverer punishment which is reſerv'd for them in the other world, and which without Repentance they ſhall not be able to eſcape. There is a poſſibility (as I have obſerv'd to you) that a Rebellion (by the juſt permiſſion of God for the ſin's of a People) may ſucceed, and that the Authors of it may go down to the Grave in peace: but whether they do or do not

eſcape in this life, there will be no hopes or poſſibility of their eſcapeing in the next; I mean without Repentance, and there is the leſſe hopes of their Eſcape, becauſe there is ſo little hopes of their Repentance. Then they will be convinc'd to their eternal Confuſion, that it was no ſuch light or trivial matter (as it is now generally made) to revile the Gods, or to ſpeak evill of the Ruler of our People; to curſe the King in our thought, or to ſtretch forth our hand againſt the Lords Anointed. And * if the Black-
* *Iud.* 8. 13 neſſe of Darkneſſe be reſerved for thoſe *who deſpiſe Dominions, and ſpeak evill of Dignities*; what degree of Punishment ſhall be thought great enough? what Flames of eternall fire ſhall be kindled for thoſe who delight to waſh their hands in the blood of Princes, and to involve their Dominions in Miſery and Confuſion, and to turn the whole world (if it were in their Power) into one Aceldama or field of blood? Certainly ſuch men muſt expect to receive to themſelves a Damnation above that which belongs to the ordinary rank of ſinners, and proportionable to the greatneſſe and hainouſneſſe of their Impieties. Their ſin ſeemes to be of the ſame nature with that of Lucifer, and his Rebellious Apoſtate Angels, and in ſome reſpect may be ſaid to be more criminal, as being actually attended with a greater train of evills, and therefore it is but reaſonable they ſhould par-
‡ *Iud.* 6 take of the ſame punishment, which is, ‡ *to be reſerved in everlaſting chaines, under Darkneſſe unto the Iudgment of the great day.* And then they ſhall receive their final and irrevocable ſentence, of *Go ye Curſed into Everlaſting*

*laſting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angels.*

Thus you have heard what is the Duty which God requires of ſubjects towards their King and Soveraign, and what is the Punishment due to Rebels. We are commanded to fear and honour the King; we muſt not revile him nor ſpeak evill of him, we muſt not curſe him no not in our thought, nor much leſſe lift up a hand againſt him. We muſt not ſuffer any paſſion, or temptation or provocation to transport us beyond our duty, ſo as to withdraw our Obedience from him. We muſt neither be given to change our ſelves, nor have any thing to do with thoſe that are; both for fear of being infected with their pernicious principles or at leaſt of being ſuſpected; which may both do us an injurie, and perhaps involue us in the real guilt of thoſe principles and practices whereof at firſt we were only ſuſpected to be guilty. You have heard likewiſe the Punishment which belongs to Rebels both as to this life, and to that which is to come; and tho the former ſeemes to be only expreſt, yet the latter is alwayes ſuppoſed; and is likewiſe expreſt by the Apoſtle that they receive to them ſelves Damnation. Their punishment as to this life is both certain, and ſudden, their Calamity shall riſe ſuddenly and who knoweth the ruin of them both? which by the great Mercy of God, we have ſeen verified in the ſuddain and unexpected period that has bin put to two Rebellions in our own Island; for which we have great reaſon (as we are commanded by Authority) to offer up our publick as well as private Thanksgiveings to our great Soveraign the

King of Heaven and Earth, for delivering us from the Miſeries and Calamities which our ſins had moſt juſtly deſerved, and which we have bin taught by ſad Experience to be the conſtant Attendants upon an unnatural and ſuccesfull Rebellion. Nor muſt our Thanksgiveing only be verbal, and with our lips, but we are calld upon to ſet forth the praiſes of our Great Deliverer with our lives (which is the moſt acceptable way of praiſing him) by endevouring to improve this and all other his Mercies to the Glory of his Great Name, the Honour, Peace, and Benefit of our Soveraign and his Kingdomes, and as much as in us lies to the good of all mankind; all which we shall be the better enabled to do if we are carefull to tranſcribe the Duty in the text according to its litteral meaning into our hearts and lives, by adding the true fear of God, to the Loyalty we profeſſe to have for our King: which will afford us theſe two Inferences by way of Application, with which I shall conclude.

1. That without Piety or the Fear of God, our greateſt Profeſſions of Loyalty, will be but *like a houſe built by a fool without a faundation upon the ſand; and the rain deſcended, and the VVinds blew, and beat upon it and it fell.* So long as it was fair Weather and no Wind ſtirring it ſeemes the houſe ſtood, but the firſt bluſtering ſtorm blew it over; ſo it is with all thoſe that are disloyal to God, and yet pretend Loyalty to their King. It is no wonder if they love their King, when Loyalty is in faſhion and they know it to be their Intereſt as well as Duty. But when ever the

ſcene

ſcene comes to be alterd, and that the Royal Intereſt declines, and they are like to be ſufferers by their Loyalty, they are the moſt likely Perſons to turn Apoſtates, becauſe their Loyalty had no ſure Foundation *it was founded upon the ſand.* But where a mans Loyalty proceeds from the Fear of God and a ſenſe of Duty, it may fitly be compared to a houſe built upon a Rock, and the rain deſcended and the flood came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that houſe, and it fel not, *for it was founded upon a Rock.* A truly pious and good man will be Loyal in foul weather as well as in fair. Let the Sun shine or let it rain, he is ſtill the ſame. He will love, honour and ſtick to his Prince as well in Adverſity as Proſperity, and he will think it as great an honour to ſuffer as to raigne with him.

2. As Piety and the Fear of God is the only ſecurity we can give of our Loyalty (it being impoſſible there can be any firm and unshaken Loyalty without it;) ſo without Loyalty it is as certain there can be no true Piety. All the noiſe and fair ſpeeches about Religion that have bin made by Rebels in their Covenants and Declarations, and all the outward showes of Godlyneſſe, which they have put on, have bin nothing but Hypocriſie, and Traps to deceive the ſimple. There have no men ever known ſo well how to counterfiet a *Form* of Godlyneſſe; or who have known ſo little what belong'd to the *Power* of it. (*a*) *While the breath of Religion fills the ſails* (as our late Royal Martyr ſpeaks in his incomparable book) *Profit is the Compas by which Factious men ſteer their Courſe in all*

(*a*) Εικὼν Βασιλ. upon the Covent.

*all ſeditious Commotions.* And as the ſame Eccellent Prince ſpeaks in another place againſt our late hypocritical Reformers; (*b*) *Iam ſure the right methods of reforming the Church, cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civil ſtate: nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients & Ornaments of true Religion, for next to Fear God is Honour the King. Nor will any men in Impartial times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good ſubjects.* And therefore you may take this for a Certain and infallible Rule, that he who Fears, Honours, and Obeys God, will Fear, Honour, and Obey his King likewiſe. Which God grant we may all do, for the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, to whom with the Father, and the holy Spirit, as for all other mercies, ſo more eſpecially for that we now celebrate, be aſcribed (as is moſt due) all Praiſe Majeſtie and Dominion now and for ever. Amen.

(*b*) Ed. c. 20

FINIS.

This presbiterian Sermon may teach obedience to the brotherhood by shewing the fatall ends of phanaticall principalls in theire adheerants. nor Grosvenor is gon out of town & yd letter to him heere returned, the pamflet will tell you that Mazarine the Grand papall prelate is dead; I have no more to ad save that this citty murmures at a high rate being incented by courtiers who buie & have sent for their coronation bravery into france. I wish men would more pollitiquely consult the late wretched tymes by what is now restored and then it will easily appear what it is to agravate the bruitish Rabble by those lowe and courtierlike inconsiderate Rashnes, trade is the life of this citty and that the life & safety of the whole the incented multitude experience tells us is not bounded; interest will reclayme when Religion in due obedience is sett at naught; standers by may see much

however I am well contented in that I am unalterable to same & respecty (with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible])